

The deserted husband shot the child simply 127 [672]
 because he was from the same village as his adulterous wife and because 684
 there was a death for which no payment had been made by the child's 578
 family. The boy was carried back to his own village, where he died three 627
 or four days later.

The brother of the murderer, who was the child's uncle by marriage, 682
 was furious at this attack and killed a woman of his own family. He 578
 then took her head to his wife's village of Atimelang, where it was ac- 627
 cepted as payment for the dead child and for the girl murdered some
 years earlier by Fanpeni. Incidentally, the murder of a lineal kin to ap-
 pease affinal kin is not necessarily traditional courtesy. I suspect, al-
 though I could not confirm it, that this last woman was in some way a
 troublesome person. In a discussion of insanity that occurs on page 157
 there is a case in which a maniac was told by kin that they would take
 his head and sell it.

This anecdote points to another reason why violence is the source of 182
 so much fear. In an area where kinship is reckoned bilaterally, so that rec- 152
 ognized family affiliations are widespread, and where, in addition, group
 responsibility exists not only in terms of kinship but also in terms of
 territorial affiliation, a violent act by some one person may have incal-
 culable repercussions on anyone distantly affiliated with the person
 committing the act. It is small wonder that Rilpada's autobiography
 contains the statement, "The older people all lectured us about fighting
 and said that when we fought we involved them and it was just as
 though we were waging war on them."

Warfare, when it was in vogue, was rarely on a large scale or of a 721
 very bloody nature. It was characterized more by treachery than by 726
 boldness. Bravery was reckoned in terms of success rather than risk.
 There is no need at this point to give a detailed description of warfare
 in Alor, but a brief résumé of the last series of head-hunting raids be-
 fore Dutch pacification will throw some light on the role it played in
 the lives of Atimelangers. The series of retaliations listed below covered
 a period of about thirty years.

1. Manisenlaka of Kewai killed Motlaka of Lawatika. No one seemed
 to remember the reasons for this original murder.

2. Lonmani, a young girl of Lawatika, was kidnapped by Padakafeli
 of Atimelang and sold to a man in Kewai, where she was killed in re-
 venge for death no. 1. Padakafeli was motivated by the profit involved in
 selling a head.

3. Lanpada of Kafakberka was killed by Kafolama of Dikimpe at the
 instigation of Padamai of Lawatika. Padamai was the father of victim
 no. 2. Kafolama was Padamai's friend and was paid for getting Lan-

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721 pada's head. Lanpada seems to have been completely innocent in the
726 matter except that he belonged to a village allied to the Kewai complex.
He had come to Dikimpe on a dunning trip.

4. Padakalieta of Dikimpe was wounded by the Kewai people in the course of a general skirmish in which the villages of Kewai and Atimelang fought those of Dikimpe and Lawatika.

5. Likma of Kewai was killed by Manimai of Atimelang. At this point Atimelang had changed sides without notifying Kewai. The change occurred because Padakalieta, no. 4, had kin in Atimelang and the Dikimpe people persuaded the Atimelangers that they owed Padakalieta vengeance. The death of Likma is particularly instructive. He [572] and his murderer were friends. The murderer visited Kewai while Kewai was still under the impression that the Atimelangers were allies. Likma was persuaded to return to Atimelang by his friend, who promised him protection both there and en route. As the two approached Atimelang, Manimai, who was walking behind Likma, shot him in the back and brought his head into the village.

6. Kafolama of Hatoberka, a village allied with Kewai, was killed by Manipada of Atimelang in a general skirmish resulting from death no. 5.

7. Two women of Alurkowati, a village that had been relatively neutral up to this point, were wounded by a group of Lakawati men who ambushed them as they went for water.

8. Lakamau of Alurkowati was killed by Padakari of Lakawati in a skirmish.

9. An old woman of File was killed by a group of Alurkowati and Dikimpe men who were out to ambush a Lakawati person. The men had gone to an area where Lakawati people had outlying fields and where they hoped to ambush some unsuspecting and unprotected person. They failed to find anyone from Lakawati and took the head of a File woman instead.

In an affair of this sort it is obvious that the important thing is to get a head, any head, by way of revenge. It is also obvious that the most immediate kin do not necessarily feel responsible for securing vengeance in person. It is more usual to ask a friend to execute vengeance, and [573] then the kinsman goes through the elaborate payment procedure for the head secured as "spouse" for his own murdered relative. In the [617] above encounters it will be seen that the Five Villages formed an alliance, after some slight vacillation on the part of Atimelang proper. This alliance was based on territorial and the resultant kinship propinquities. Their casualties were two persons dead and three wounded, of whom three were women. Kewai and its allied villages of Lakawati, Hato-

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berka, and Kafakberka had five dead, one of whom was a woman. Of 721 the casualties only three occurred in open fight, the others were through 726 ambush and treachery. It should be stressed, however, that the use of the word *treachery* in English gives the act a derogatory quality that the Alorrese do not recognize.

The termination of this last war came with the death of the File woman. Dikimpe people took the initiative in paying for her murder. Since the score was five to five at this point settlement could be arranged honorably by go-betweens, and thirty dollars in mokos and gongs kept the File people from joining the war. At about this time also the Dutch were insisting upon the termination of head-hunting. However, some twenty years later the Kewai and Atimelang people were 573 still suspicious of each other and there were very few contacts between the villages, although they were only about an hour-and-a-half's walking distance apart.

The fact that bereaved kin are not necessarily the ones who take direct 602 vengeance does not mean that they are absolved from responsibility 721 but, characteristically, that responsibility is financial. They must 432 buy a head to match the one lost by a relative. Actually a head itself is not always necessary. Tokens for a person killed or wounded but not decapitated are acceptable. In such transactions there are six sellers and six buyers. The sellers (*namu*) are the persons who were present at the death and who counted coup on the head. The buyers (*banumuma*) consist of specific kin, such as a brother, and the first five Male Houses of the deceased. The prices for heads naturally vary. The maximum expenditure I have recorded amounts to approximately one hundred and twelve dollars in gongs, mokos, weapons, and pigs.

The ceremonial accompaniments of such transactions are slight and 432 slovenly in execution, as are all ceremonial procedures in Atimelang. 262 The sellers of a head bring it to their village in a basket filled with 727 ashes. The basket is hung in a bamboo thicket and ignored until the payoff, which may be years later. The first two killers are under a rice taboo for six days. They may eat only corn served them in the inner woven compartment of an areca basket that is kept covered with a serving basket. The eaters take a handful and rapidly cover the container again. This is to prevent the ghost of the dead man from contaminating 773 the food and making his slayers particularly susceptible to revenge. On the sixth day the buyers make a rice roll with a head and limbs. The chief seller shoots this food effigy and may thereafter eat rice. The sellers then give the chief buyer bananas, pigs, and chickens. 1431 which are cooked and eaten on the spot by the five other buyers. That 602